439 cotton clothes, and Sudanese-made lithams /veils/. Then after
484 two months of rest spent in the Sudan, during which time the camels revel in the rich pasture, they all set out again for the Ahaggar, where they arrive from January on. February and March see them leave again for the Tidikelt or Touat. At that time they take only a few camels and exchange the excess manufactured articles which they collected in the Sudan and trade dried mutton for dates. This trip lasts an average of two months, and toward the end of April everyone is back in the Ahaggar, as a rule. There is a rest of a few weeks, and everyone thinks about the next salt campaign he is going to have to prepare.

Thus we see a complete caravan cycle which, by itself, could allow the Tuareg a normal life. But as we have said, it implies a [461] state of peace which was previously the exception, as well as an amount of work to be furnished which is not always in harmony with the warlike tastes of the Imochar.

224 Hunting supplies some employment for the Tuareg, as does gathering. But both of them are only uncertain pastimes, without
221 much profit. The life of the Tuareg may thus be summed up in a few lines: basic animal husbandry doubled by brigandage raised to the state of an institution, and accessorily by some caravaneering. Now we shall see the domestic life of the Tuareg.

/221/ Chapter 2

## Dwellings

361 The camp. -- The camp is the traditional Tuareg form of
● 62 habitation; it is connected with nomadism which always implies animal husbandry. It includes a certain number of people gathered together under a patriarchal authority by very close bonds of kinship.

312 The question of water is fundamental in the formation of the
[361 camp, both for the choice of its location and for the number of tents
182] to be included.

Water is obviously a problem for all life; it plays a role in the location of our small European villages, but this role is still greater in desert countries where water is quite rare. The existence of watering places is not only necessary for human life but also for the life of the domestic animals.

137 To this primordial condition of the existence of a watering
182 place must be added the condition of pasture for the domestic
312 animals. Therefore, we see that the establishment of a camp among
361 the Ihaggaren is conditioned by two main factors whose character may vary in time, depending on the seasons and the abundance or scarcity of rain. But in the last analysis the pasture needs take precedence, for, generally speaking, pasture is even rarer than
137 water, since it can sometimes be completely lacking. This need
182 for pasture forces tribes to split up and camps to be dispersed in
361 order to exploit it rationally. The situation is such that there are
621 rarely more than five or six tents in each group. Only the aménokal's
[643] camp may number as many as 15 or 20 tents, but this is quite exceptional, involving the question of prestige and social order at the same time. Indeed, the aménokal supports a numerous family, his caliphs, his servants, etc. But this grouping around the chief is quite artificial, and the flocks which the people own are not with them but are /222/ spread out in the mountains, kept by Imrad or servants.

The camp is always established rather far from the watering
361 places, for it is preferable to be closer to the pastures. It is often
312 five or six kilometers from water. The animals go there to drink every two or three days, and the people use the occasion to get
[482 their water supply, which will be carried in waterskins on their backs
492] or under the stomach of the asses. Tuareg, moreover, do not like
361 to settle near a watering place, for it is always a stopping point for
609 transients, and they avoid making their presence known to strangers.

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103

| | 1911 | 1938 |
|---|---|---|
| T-i-n-Ămenser . . . . . | 36 | temporarily abandoned |
| Tifert . . . . . | 50 | " " |
| Essélésékin . . . . . | 30 | |
| T-i-n-Târâbin . . . . . | 15 | abandoned |

166
621
[648]
These figures bring out the weakening of some centers to the advantage of others. Thus, a number of cultivators from Tarahouhaout (where the French post was formerly located) came to settle at Tamanrasset, and the group of little centers in the outskirts of Ăbalessa, Iglen, Tăfarit, etc., has absorbed the groups from other abandoned centers like Tifert, Essélésékin, Ilâman, Tarahananet, etc.

[241
312]
Together these centers number about 400 gardens and 80 feggaguir.

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439
433
The wheat harvested is partly consumed by the cultivators and chiefly intended for export; it is exchanged at the Touat for dates. The total harvests in the Ahaggar corresponds to only one -fifth of the needs of its inhabitants, even in good years.

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433
There are fifteen agricultural centers exploited in the Ahaggar: Tamanrasset, Tărhaouahout, Tahifet, Tăzerouk, Ideles, Ăbalessa, Hirhafok, Iglen, I-n-Amegel, T-i-n-Ămenser, Amsel, Tigeneouin, Talan-Tedit, Mertoûtek, and Esselésékine.

[166]
In addition there are twenty-two other centers which have been abandoned for some years as a result of dryness or lack of manpower: Ăttoklane, Ădenek, Ămrah, Ăbezou, Ăglil, Bloûmet, Déhine, Dar Mouli, Ennedid, Innezal, Ilâman, In Ămertek, Ilafok, Outoul, Ouhet, Souaïka, T-i-n-Târabin, Touakin, Teberbert, Tarahananet, Tahart, and Joraf.

233 tents, where a few camps live permanently, filling the function of
361 shepherds for the people remaining in the Ahaggar.

At the same time, then, there is nomadism and transhumance.

Definitions of the two kinds of life are as follows: there is nomadism when the tribe accompanies the moving livestock, and transhumance when the flocks are accompanied only by shepherds. And so we see that it is not possible to link the Tuareg to one category or the other, but that they engage in the two kinds of life, even in a mixed system in some instances. Quite often, in fact, the goats are pastured in the Ahaggar with a few shepherds, while the women stay in the mountains, and all the men are in the Sudan with the camels.

/255/ The migrations of these little herds of goats recall the moving of flocks which Vidal de la Blache has described as "mountain transhumance," that is, the camps move regularly from the summer pastures located on the peaks to the winter pastures in the
[132] plain. These moves cannot be as regular as they are in our country, in view of the irregularity of the rains.

It may thus be said that the Ahaggar Tuareg are small nomads by the short range of the moves of their camps, but that they are, on the other hand, great transhumants.

## Rules Concerning Passage and Nomadization With Flocks

423 The lands over which the tribes range are fixed by the aménokal
643 to whom the land appertains. The origin of the tioussé comes
651 partly from the pasture rights which he grants.

Each tribe is proprietor of its land, with full and exclusive
423 enjoyment of it. Others can come settle among the tribe only with
● 621 the authorization of the tribe's amrar, but the right of way, including the right to water flocks, is secured for everyone.

These rules may be modified in periods of great dryness or in periods following plentiful rains.

423 When pasture is scarce as the result of a long dry period, an
621 understanding is reached between the different tribal chiefs, and
311 one of them may authorize the other's tribe to come nomadize on his territory, on the condition, of course, that they not do any damage, mutilate the trees, or engage in hunting.

185 When a region has been abundantly favored by rain, the amrar
423 decrees the land forbidden -- ganent. No one can go there, in-
621 cluding the people of the tribe. This measure is designed to protect
311 young growths from the teeth of the animals and let the pasture grow to maturity. A few weeks later the interdiction is raised, the land is free, and anyone, without distinction, may profit from it, always conforming, of course, to the jurisdiction /sic/ concerning the protection of trees and to the hunting interdiction.

423 Animals straying on the land of a neighboring tribe are /256/
621 returned to their owners without the intervention of any sanction.
685 But when a flock is surprised on ganent land, the owner is fined one head of livestock -- one goat if it is a flock of goats, one sheep if it is a flock of sheep, one camel if it is a herd of camels.

A branch cut by a member of a neighboring tribe entails a fine
[185] of one goat or one sheep. This rule is not often applied, however, for the Tuareg have little respect for the protection of trees.

/257/ Chapter 7

## Care of the Body and Bodily Habits

515 Cleanliness and care of the body. -- In a country where water is scarce, it is natural that the people are not inclined to wash every day. The Tuareg, through living in the desert far from wells, have lost the habit of washing themselves. It is not that they despise

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Air



given by Nicolas (Nicolas 1950b, p. 474f.). The clans differ greatly in size ranging from 633 to 42 individuals. The average figure for a clan is about 250.

A clan is generally termed *tawsit* which seems to have the meaning of "a palm from which fingers issue". Many clans have an ancestress whose name is known to the members. The Kel Ferouan Tuareg however have very little genealogical knowledge. They rarely know their kinsmen more than three or four generations back, and they cannot trace the relationship between all clan members and their ancestress. Traditionally a clan is a group of matrilineally related persons, but there is nowadays a strong tendency to acknowledge the patrilineal principle for clan-membership. A more detailed description of Tuareg clans will be given in the later chapter on the Ahaggar Tuareg.

To-day the Air Tuareg live most of the year in camps consisting of three to five barrel-vaulted tents covered with mats (fig. 5 & 19). The inhabitants of these small camps generally form an extended family, e.g.,

1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children.
2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children.
3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children.
4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband.

In the rainy season *(akasa)* and in the beginning of the following dry season *(tarat)* several small camps of extended families may camp together. The only reason for this is said to be that kinsmen appreciate each other's company. I have myself never seen such big camps. During my visit to Air 1955 the annual pastures were not so well developed as to allow the concentration of many domestic animals in one and the same place. It is said that camps in the past were bigger than nowadays. The Air Tuareg were then constantly running the risk of being raided by pastoral Arabs, Tebu, or Tuareg from other groups.

Clan-endogamy is claimed an ideal by many Air Tuareg, but exogamous marriages are common and have occured also in the past. The members of two clans hold that they have intermarried since the remote date of their establishment. They claim descent from a brother and a sister who married two cross-cousins, and the preferred type of marriage among the Kel Ferouan Tuareg is in fact that to a cross-cousin – ideally to a mother's brother's daughter. This may be seen from the composition of 38 marriages which were as follows:–

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 7 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 4 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Other kinswomen | 13 |
| No blood-relationship between husband and wife | 8 |
| Marriages total | 38 |

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



to indicate that the two latter types of marriage are more common than are marriages with cross-cousins:-

| | |
|---|---|
| Mother's brother's daughter | 3 |
| Father's sister's daughter | 7 |
| Classificatory cross-cousins | 6 |
| Mother's sister's daughter | 11 |
| Mother's sister's daughter's daughter | 9 |
| Other kinswomen | 8 |
| Marriages total | 44 |

The Tuareg claim marriages with a maternal cousin or with her daughter to be superior to cross-cousin marriage because a man and his father will then belong to the same matrilineage.

The clans are divided into sections. There are four of these in the Dag Rali clan and eight in the three sub-clans of the Aǧouh-en-Tehele. When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up in minor camps of 2–7 tents. A small camp generally consists of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting. The big camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small camps consisting of extended families related to each other. But the small camps within the bigger camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small camps join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which the labour cannot be provided by a goat-herding camp. In case the small goat-herding units cannot remain together they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A big camp will never correspond to a lineage, but will comprise part of a matrilineage of three to five generations plus people attached to the camp through their fathers and husbands according to the rules of residence outlined above (cf. fig. 11). A big camp or section has a leader, who with the title of *Khalifa* may also be the representative of the section in relation to the clan chief *(Amȳar)*. These khalifas are not necessarily chosen according to any rule of descent, but ideally the succession is matrilineal as it is for clan chiefs.

The kinship system in Ahaggar is different from that in Air (fig. 8–9), but the rules of kinship behaviour are very much the same. Joking relationship between cross-cousins, and joking and avoidance between in-laws are practised also in Ahaggar. But joking with a mother's brother's wife seems to be unknown in most clans.

[Text continues on p. 108]

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



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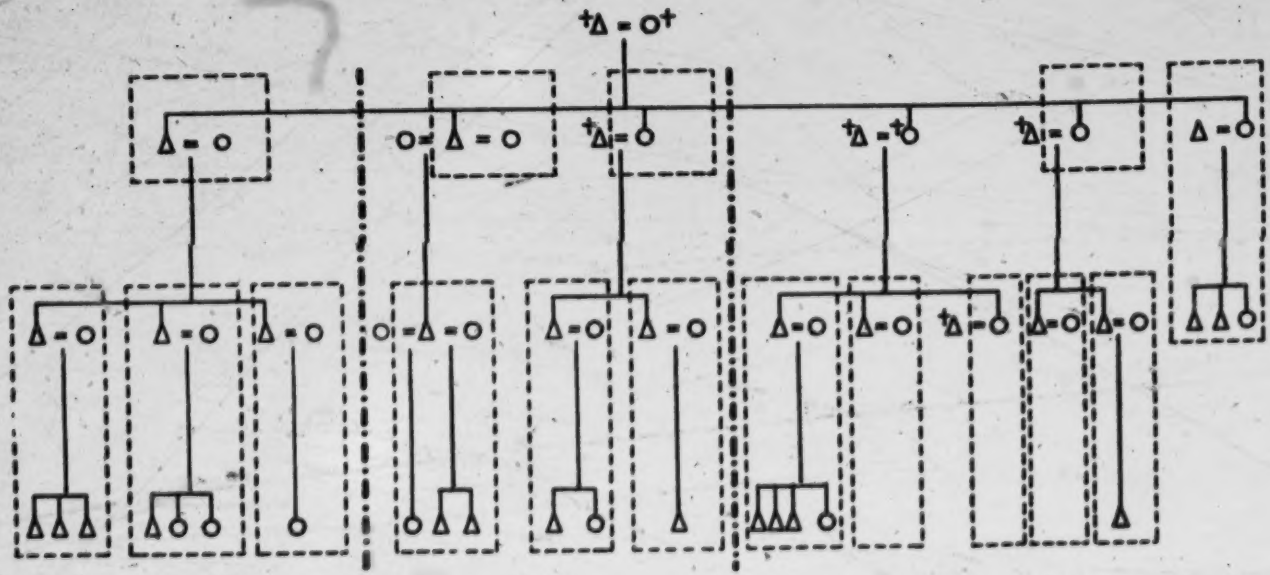

Fig. 11.–The section camp of the Kel Azernan (the Isandan sub-clan of the Aghuh-en-Tehele clan). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. – The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated fig. 10. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Air whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

5: Nicolaisen E-4, 5 (1951-1955) 1959
MS25 Tuareg MS25
Ahaggar



*Sub-Areas of the Territory of the Aǧouh-en-Tehele Clan.*

(The clan is divided into three sub-clans named Kel Tarhaouhaout, Isandan, and Kel Rafia).

| Tenants | Value of Sub-Area | Annual Land-Rent to the Amenokal |
|---|---|---|
| SAMA-ALATOKH, Chief of the Aǧouh-en-Tehele, Chief of the sub-clan Kel Tarhaouhaout, Leader of the section named Kel Tôles. | Cultivation grounds at Tarhaouhaout and In Daledge. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys for domestication. | 2 donkeys |
| OMANA, Khalifa of the Ihenkaren section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. Collecting of wild seeds. | 3 goats |
| ABERGIALI, Khalifa of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. | Hunting of barbary sheep. | 2 goats |
| KHOFA of the Kel Tarien section of the Kel Tarhaouhaout sub-clan. No position as leader. | Cultivation grounds at Inagriouel and In Deledje. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 2 donkeys |
| DEINI, Chief of the Kel Rafia sub-clan. | No particular value. | No land-rent. |
| AKAOUALI, Chief of the Isandan sub-clan, Leader of the Kel Afrahaouhine section. | Cultivation grounds at Tahifet. Hunting of barbary sheep. Wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| HANOU, Khalifa of the Kel Azernan section of the Isandan sub-clan. | Cultivation grounds at Tamanrasset. In the past wild donkeys. | 1 donkey |
| KHOSENI, Khalifa of the Relaiddin now attached to the Aǧouh-en-Tehele clan. | Khoseni is in command of this area to which all members of the Relaiddin have equal rights. Each of them gives two goats annually to the Amenokal. | |

clans. There are in Ahaggar as in Air joking relationships between Tuareg of different classes, but the two vassal clans considered the oldest in the Kel Rela drum-group, the Dag Rali and the Ait Loaien, will never joke with people of other classes. Other vassal clans and in particular the Aǧouh-en-Tehele have joking with noble clans and also with clans of the Iseḳḳemaren class. Between the Aǧouh-en-Tehele and the Iseḳḳemaren clans a fixed rule of gift-exchange is observed when they visit each other. When the Aǧouh-en-Tehele people come to the Iseḳḳemaren they must receive dates, while meat must be given to the Iseḳḳemaren visiting the Aǧouh-en-Tehele. It should be noted in this context that relatives who practise joking and avoidance frequently exchange gifts although in such cases there are no fixed rules for the kind of objects given.

[Text continues on p. 110]

565 /51 cont./ The most important agricultural centers belonging to the Adjouh n'Téhélé are Tarhaouaout, In Dalag, and Tahifet. There are several subgroups: the Isanden in the Isernan region; the Kel Rafsa, Tahifet region; the Relaïdine, Tin-Tarabin region; and the Kel Hagalella to the south of Tamanrasset. The tribe's amrar is Samaalatokh ag Mansouri. [651] The tioussé paid to the amenokal is approximately the same as that paid by the Dag Rali.

565 [157] The Adjouh n'Téhélé have an open character; they are gay and like to joke, but they have the reputation of being quick tempered and irascible.

The Aït Loen tribe is, like the preceding ones, an imrad tribe of the Kel Rela. It is descended from Takamat. These Tuareg are nomads in the eastern Atakor and sometimes penetrate into Ajjers territory. Their most important center is Tin-[491] Tarabin. There are no roads going into the territory of this tribe, so their tents are rarely visited.

[162 563] There are about 500 Aït Loen; they possess 620 black servants. The Kel Torha, Kel Anahef, and Kel Telerteba are the three subgroups of the tribe, whose chief is El Ralen ag [651] Nissoran. Their tioussé is about four mezoued of dates to the Kel Rela and one mezoued of dates paid by the Kel Torha to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

The Aït Loen are experienced guides for going to the Ajjers and Ténéré regions.

[162 563] The Iklan Taoussit number about 600, served by 650 Negroes. They are nomads in the Tahelra, the Silet region, the Amded and Tekouiat wadis, and in the northern part of the Adrar des Iforas. They formerly belonged to the Imenanes, which accounts for their name, which means "servant of the tribe." [651] Their tioussé is on the order of four mezoued of millet, two bottas of butter, and six milch goats. Dali ag Akoumaris is the tribe's amrar. The subgroup of the tribe which sojourns almost continually in the Tin-Zaouaten region has Khadida for chief.

241 /76 cont./ In connection with the conditions of life in the agricultural centers, I shall reproduce here an extract from notes taken in 1949 during a tour I made in the company of the doctor at Tamanrasset. This year of 1949 was particularly dry and came on the heels of four long dry years.

"After having walked five hours since leaving the Tilokatine wadi, where we spent the night, we came in view of a charming little oasis situated in the Outoul wadi, which 241 has cut a bed through basalt rocks, columns of which are ●62 seen along the banks. This was the agricultural center of Tahart.

[162 "There are 63 inhabitants, of whom 17 are children -- 164] suffering from trachoma and conjunctivitis. Two foggaras serve to irrigate the gardens, as well as two wells with water drawn by oxen. The output of the foggaras is diminishing; the harratin have tried digging other wells at the head of the foggara, but they found large blocks of stone at a depth of three meters which prevented them from reaching the water table. A long and wearying work, with primitive means.

"There are about 100 palm trees, which give small, meager dates. Nearly all of the trees are encumbered with djebars; these harratin have no idea whatsoever of how to cultivate palm trees. Those trees that now produce grew from pits haphazardly cast in a garden.

"The only winter crops are wheat and barley; no turnips, no carrots, no beans, no other vegetables that could tide them over in the period between the millet and the wheat crops and that would permit them to let the cereal ripen.

"At this time nearly all the harratin are eating green barley and young tahli shoots.

"A brief calculation will show how insufficiently these cultivators are fed, although they do very hard work in a hard climate:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Year 1948. | Yield of wheat for Tahart | 1, 500 kilograms |
| | Yield of millet for Tahart | 300 kilograms |
| | | 1, 800 kilograms |

241 /77/ or 1, 800 kilograms of grain to divide 63 times during
621 365 days, giving scarcely 100 grams a day per person, to which we may add three or four meals of meat per year.

"This year a green louse menaces the grain harvest; in summer a sort of 'mosquito' attacks the millet."

To complete these observations, one must add to the food listed for the harratin the very sweet tea they drink whenever they can, and it must be noted that this year 1949 was particularly bad.

If the wheat, set amid the arid mountains, gives an air of opulence to the village, the cultivator well knows that the production will be insufficient and that the fifth part of it coming to him is already pledged to Mozabite merchants to pay for the different purchases of the year. What to do? Go on farming, for such is life. This stubborn work to coax a little wheat from a hostile soil is most touching and merits a better success; but it would be necessary to educate these Negroes, and that is another story.

[361] Certain of these centers are temporary; the harratin abandon them when the soil is exhausted or when the water is no longer sufficient for irrigation; others are always occupied and under cultivation. The harratin merely cultivate smaller areas during dry years. In the permanent centers, the gardens have fruit trees.

In the appendix is the list of the principal agricultural centers of the Ahaggar.

## Animal Raising

233 A land of nomads, the Ahaggar is a region of extensive animal raising. The pastures grow according to the chance of rainfall, and the Tuareg use them with due regard to the growth of the grass. The irregularity of the annual rains obliges the Kel Ahaggar to drive the majority of their camel herd to Sudanese territory, so that about 7, 500 camels graze

301 /183 cont./ Tisabatin: The tisabatin are ear pendants, simple rings of silver whose diameter is about ten centimeters; two tisabatin weigh 120 grams.

Teraout: large silver triangle worn on the chest; the hidden side is made of iron.

Ahbedj (plural: ihebdjen): The women always wear two. They are bracelets, the most popular type of which has the form of a simple ring with an opening. The two ends are polyhedral and are decorated with geometrical designs.

Tissegouar: silver pendants for the temples.

The Tuareg do not use gold; silver alone is used to make jewelry and the amulet cases called teraout.

The men wear smaller rings than the women.

/185/ VII

List of Agricultural Centers

103 Abalessa (altitude: 850 meters).

361 This was the largest agricultural center before our arrival in the Ahaggar; since then, Tamanrasset has surpassed Abalessa.

621

Abalessa is located 100 kilometers west of Tamanrasset in the Ibarras wadi at the confluence of the Abalessa wadi, which receives the waters of the Tit, Outoul, Tiffert, and Iglène wadis.

The population consists of more than a thousand harratin.

The cultivable surface is 150 hectares during favorable years; generally, the crops cover 80 hectares.

The owners of the gardens are some Kel Rela, Taïtok, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit.

There are 11 foggara, the longest and deepest in the Ahaggar; some reach six kilometers in length, and the head wells are eight to ten meters deep.

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/185 cont./ Approximately 300 palms grow freely or nearly so; almost all have grown from nuts, and half are dokkar (males)

Abalessa has a bordj /a small fort or solidly constructed house/ and an infirmary.

The tumulus of Tin-Hinan is located two kilometers from the bordj in the Tiffert wadi.

Centers of the Tiffert wadi.

Tounin Akourin.

A small center seven kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Two foggara and a tanout.

/186/ The amenokal has his permanent camp near gardens that he owns.

Tiffert Foulani.

Five kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. There are about 30 palms. An active center, it is owned by the local harratin. Here is the residence of Si Ahmed Foulani, a well-known taleb /scribe/, who plays the role of cadi for the Tuareg.

Tiffert Tahtani.

Three kilometers upstream from Abalessa. Three foggara. Active and permanent center. Small village constructed of toub, overlooking some 40 palms.

Tin-Tazarouk.

One kilometer from Abalessa on the trail to Silet. One foggara. Zériba. Large quantity of diss (a large grass).

Centers of the Outoul wadi.

Outoul.

A long-abandoned center which is being revived; located between the old and new trails to In-Salah, 20 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Five foggara, two of them upstream. Several fruit trees.

Tahart.

Eighteen kilometers downstream from Outoul. Three foggara and one tanout. Owners: Taïtok and Tédjéhé n'Néfi.

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/186 cont./ About 100 palms, numerous fig trees and vines. A tiggert with abundant tahli. Very picturesque site.

Assileskine (altitude: 960 meters).

Center located six kilometers downstream from Tahart. Often abandoned. Owners: Taïtok. Three foggara, about 30 residents. Vines and several young palms. Rock drawings near the zéribas.

Ennedid (altitude: 914 meters).

Four kilometers downstream from Assileskine in a gorge at the confluence of the Outoul wadi. About 60 residents, nearly 100 palsm. Owners: Kel Rela, Dag Rali, and Iklan Taoussit. Very pretty site.

/187/ Centers of the Tit wadi.

Tit (altitude: 1, 127 meters).

Located in the Tit wadi, 50 kilometers from Tamanrasset. Fairly important center, more than 100 residents, houses of toub and zeribas. About 30 palms, numerous fig trees, and enormous vines. At this time, four foggara. Very important site for rock drawings.

Tin-Emensar.

Ten kilometers downstream from Tit. Abandoned center.

Dar Mouli.

Three kilometers downstream from Tin-Emensar, a small garden is cultivated. Site of an annual celebration where the Tuareg gather for the ziara of Moulay Abderrahmane.

Centers of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tamanrasset (altitude: 1, 470 meters).

Fort Laperrine, administrative headquarters of the Ahaggar. The military bordj was constructed in 1919 and used in 1920 after the abandoning of Tarahouaout.

In 1920, Tamanrasset had 40 residents. It was a small, unimportant center with three foggara; a few rare éthel and fersig lined the wadi.

103 361 621 /187 cont. / The French occupation created out of nothing the built-up area which became a road center after the creation of automobile roads from Tamanrasset toward In-Salah and Algiers;

from Tamanrasset toward Agadès and Fort Lamy;

from Tamanrasset toward Tin-Zaouaten and Gao.

Secondary roads of local or tourist interest were later opened:

from Tamanrasset to Djanet by way of Idelès and Serouanout;

from Tamanrasset to Idelès by way of Tarahouaout, Tahifet;

from Tamanrasset to In-Azaoua (not completed);

from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Illamane peak (tourist);

[491] from Tamanrasset to the Asekrem massif by way of the Imalaoulaouen guelta and the Akarakar. This road, finished in 1952, makes it possible to circle around the high peaks of the Atakor; it /188/ completes the one mentioned just before. Its route, laid out by the head of the Tamanrasset annex, provides maximum protection against the rains; it discloses a succession of splendid panoramas and ends at the foot of the Asekrem plateau after having crossed the strangest assortment of peaks imaginable. This road is prolonged in the direction of the Issakarassen guelta, then will continue toward the Hirafok agricultural center to end in the Tefedest.

[439] Arab and Mozabite merchants very quickly installed themselves at Tamanrasset, offering merchandise coming from Tell and buying wheat, millet, and butter from the Tuareg, making usurious loans, in a word, draining away the Tuareg's small supply of cash to direct it toward the Mzab.

The houses are built for the most part on the right bank of the wadi in the nonirrigable areas. Tamanrasset has no local color whatsoever, but the red tint of the exterior plastering, the cleanliness and charm of the streets shaded by éthel and adorned by geraniums, produce a pleasing over-all

103 /188 cont./ effect. An admirable and almost unique thing
361 in the Ahaggar is the circle of mountains which surrounds the
621 village; from the south bank of the wadi the view at sunrise or sunset is sensational.

At the present time Tamanrasset has some 20 foggara and a dozen tanout. The owners of the foggara are: the commune, some Adjouh n'Téhélé, some Tédjéhé n'Néfis, some harratin, and some merchants. The foggara are from four to five kilometers long. The gardens extend nearly six kilometers from the ksar /former fortified village/ of the Adriane to the ksar of Teggert. The cultivated area is about 70 hectares, counting the gardens of the small center of Tihegouine three kilometers downstream, watered by a foggara.

The commune owns a magnificent garden where all sorts of fruit trees are tried; it sets an example for the local gardeners. Many European houses have a small garden irrigated by foggara or by well.

The present population is about 2, 000 residents. This enormous growth in population presents a terrible /189/ water problem. It appears that an agricultural center in the Ahaggar cannot grow indefinitely without considering hydraulic works.

103 Tamanrasset, although favored from the point of view of
361 water resources, is a proof of what could be attempted in the
621 other agricultural centers if the French could advise the
648 harratin and furnish them examples.

The French population is divided in the following way:

A captain, annex head, administrator of the commune.

Two or three officer assistants.

Secretaries.

A school. Seven teachers, three of them nomads.

An observatory of global physics. Three physicists.

A telecommunications service. Four radio operators, two weather men.

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/189 cont./ A branch of the Company of Tropical Transportation.

An auxiliary postal receipts office.

A hotel.

A few retired persons at Tamanrasset without occupation.

From the military point of view, Tamanrasset is generally the base for a company of the camel corps. Units of the Saharan Engineer corps maintain the road from In-Salah to Tamanrasset and Agadez.

The French population totals about 120 persons; this number is subject to frequent fluctuations.

The number of Mozabite and Arab merchants, including their families, comes to about 100 individuals.

There are about 1, 900 harratin, an approximate figure, for many gardeners come and go from one agricultural center to another.

It is impossible to speak of Tamanrasset without thinking of General Laperrine and Father de Foucauld. The body of the general rests at Tamanrasset near the tomb where the priest was buried after his tragic death. The bordj where Father de Foucauld lived during the last years of his life is a tourist attraction; it is also possible to visit the hermitage built by the Father on the wadi's left bank.

/190/ Near the village of Adriane are found the tombs of Moussa ag Amastane, the Laperrine's amenokal friend, and of Dassine, the famous poetess.

In the house which was Moussa ag Amastane's, the maalmines, artisans of the Tuareg tribes, work.

Tamanrasset, administrative center, a necessary stop on the road from French West Africa and from French East Africa, is also an airplane stop destined to become more and more important.

Tourism tends to conquer the Ahaggar; the Touring Club of France has organized excursion caravans for several years. Scientists from all fields, enlightened travelers,

163 /190 cont./ mountain climbers in quest of virgin peaks, are
361 attracted to the still little-known country. For all of them
62 Tamanrasset is a departure base but not a place to linger.
[648]

Tissenaouine

In the Tissenaouine wadi at its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi. One foggara belonging to a hartani. Very well-cultivated garden.

Tagrambaït

In the Tamanrasset wadi, 15 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Three foggara, well-cultivated gardens. Little possibility for growth.

Amsel (altitude: 1, 180 meters)

Located in the Amsel wadi a little before its confluence with the Tamanrasset wadi, about 30 kilometers south of Tamanrasset.

The owners of the gardens are the Adjouh n'Téhélé and the Tédjéhé n'Néfis. The gardens are located upstream and downstream from the tiggert, a veritable stream of running water where abundant tahli grow. Six foggara and three tanout. There are about 60 residents. The cultivable surface totals 30 hectares; there would be possibilities for extending the center downstream. Several fruit trees.

Intnérin

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Amsel. Tiggert and numerous tahli. Two foggara. Unimportant /191/ center, with no possibility for growth. Boxed-in, very hot valley.

Idikel

In the Tamanrasset wadi 15 kilometers south of Amsel. Difficult to reach by auto. Three foggara and two tanout. Large amount of cultivable land but endangered by the big floods of the Tamanrasset wadi.

Tiguenouine

In the Tamanrasset wadi seven kilometers south of Tamanrasset. A large amount of tahli at the Amelalouline tiggert. Three foggara, abundant water.

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/191 cont. / Centers located on the In-Azaoua road

Izerzi

Fifteen kilometers south of Tamanrasset in the Izerzi wadi. A long-abandoned center revived in 1952.

Talan Téhédit

A long-abandoned center 20 kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Cultivated since 1951. Abundant water. Tiggert, tahli. Garden owners: Adjouh n'Téhéle and Tédjéhé n'Néfis. Three foggara and two tanout. Possibility for growth.

Ifok

Thirty kilometers south of Tamanrasset. Running water, tiggert, tahli. The gardens are upstream and downstream from the tiggert. Two foggara and three tanout. A frequently abandoned center.

Region of the Atakor

Ilaman (altitude: 2, 000 meters).

Highest center in the Ahaggar. Abandoned for a long time, traces of nine former foggara.

At the present time the village of Ilaman has a dozen residents. One foggara and two tanout are in operation. The Dag Rali own the gardens; their millet silos give the village a curious appearance.

Terhénanet (altitude: 1, 950 meters)

Located in the Terhénanet wadi on the edge of the Taessa massif. /192/ Like the village of Ilaman the village of Terhenanet is at the side of the road leading to the Asekrem. A small guelta is found downstream from the gardens. An unimportant center: about ten residents, two living foggara, four dead ones.

Centers of the southeastern Atakor

Tarahouaout (altitude: 1, 317 meters) -- (Fort Motylinski)

Located in the Tarahouaout wadi 80 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the automobile road. It was the administrative

103 /192 cont./ capital of the Ahaggar from 1908 to 1921. One
361 may see the old bordj overlooking the wadi, as well as old
621 houses at the foot of the cliff.

An important center, it is the fief of the Adjouh n'Téhélé tribe. Fifty-two hectares are cultivable, irrigated by ten foggara. There are numerous tanout. Fruit trees are in decline but there are still fig trees, apricot trees, and vines.

[172] Numerous pre-Islamic tombs are evidence of a very ancient occupation of this water point. Three rock-drawing sites exist on ridges downstream from the bordj.

Six kilometers downstream from the gardens, an enormous stand of tahli announces the entrance to very narrow gorges, in which one may follow over a distance of ten kilometers a veritable stream connecting a string of guelta. This is perhaps the most important permanent flow of water in the Ahaggar.

In-Dalag (altitude: 1,450 meters)

Located in the In-Dalag wadi, this very important center extends over a length of 15 kilometers. The water table is fed by waters running from the southeast of the Atakor and from the Ahélégheg djebel. The Adjouh n'Téhélé own the gardens. In dry periods this center is partly abandoned, as well as the small villages downstream: Tehi n'Oudi, Tin-Tsoumar, Tabarakaten, In-Tinsi, In-Tolouline.

There are five foggara at In-Dalag. Downstream from the cultivated centers gorges are found where great numbers of tahli grow.

/193/ Tahifet

An important center located in the wadi of the same name 50 kilometers north of Tarhaouaout. The Adjouh n'Téhélé are owners of the gardens. The cultivable surface comes to 22 hectares; there are eight foggara. Six kilometers downstream from the gardens is a tiggert surrounded by a large amount of spontaneous vegetation. The site is very picturesque.

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/193 cont. / Centers of the northern Atakor

Ideles

Very important center in the Tarouda wadi, overlooked by the Adrar Tadéraz. The village is located on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Djanet 265 kilometers from Tamanrasset. The village consists of a bordj and an infirmary, as well as numerous stone houses. The residents, who number about 300, were originally from the Tidikelt. The ruins of an old ksar may be seen.

The gardens belong to the Kel Rela, the Dag Rali, the Kel Tazolé, and the Kel Amguid. The cultivable area amounts to about 40 hectares, irrigated by eight foggara and about ten tanout. About 300 palm trees are fairly well cared for; there are also numerous fig trees and vines.

Amenselane

Very small center six kilometers from Ideles. One foggara. Numerous tahli near the tiggert.

Tazerouk

A center which used to be very important but whose cultivable land is often carried off in pieces during big floods. Located 188 kilometers from Tamanrasset by the Ideles automobile road. The population is made up of freed Negroes who own the gardens but whose laziness has jeopardized this favored oasis. The altitude is 1, 896 meters; two wheat harvests per year are possible. The cultivable area amounts to 45 hectares, with hardly half of it sown. Enormous, untended fig trees grow, /194/ as well as very many peach trees and apricot trees. The summer climate at Tazerouk is the most pleasant in the Ahaggar.

In the wadis which end at Tazerouk, agricultural centers are established during the rainy years; these are: Sellemaï, Ihebert, Teberbert, Taouakim, Tin-Ezzar.

Tizzeit

Unimportant center, long abandoned, now cultivated, located on the camel trail from Ideles to Tazerouk. Land

103 /194 cont./ belongs to the Ibardjien, an ancient tribe on the
361 way to extinction, redoubtable mountaineers and clever hunters
621 of wild sheep. Alkaline spring, tanout. Vines, fig trees, and numerous palms.

Tin-Founès

Abandoned center located on the Amadror road; numerous untended palms.

Hirafok (altitude: 1, 510 meters)

Located in the Hirafok wadi, on the automobile road from Tamanrasset to Ideles. The gardens run lengthwise and are well tended. Twenty-four hectares of cultivable land irrigated by five foggara and five tanout. A few fig trees. A bordj is constructed by the side of the road. The wadi valley is fairly well wooded; there is a tiggert downstream.

Im-Amguel (altitude: 1, 037 meters)

Large agricultural center located in the In-Amguel wadi on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah, 144 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A bordj and an infirmary. Four hundred residents. Ten foggara water well-tended gardens. There are some 100 palm trees, half of which are dokkar. Vines, fig trees, apricot trees, peach trees. Poultry.

Ifrok

Upstream from In-Amguel on the automobile road from Ideles. A center long abandoned, now cultivated. One foggara. The wadi is very well wooded.

Tasakimt

An abandoned center located between Ideles and Tazerouk. One tiggert upstream from which existed a foggara and four /195/ tanout. Abundant vegetation consisting of fersig and oleander.

Centers of the Tefedest

Mertoutek

A center in decline. There now exist two living foggara compared to ten before. Altitude: 1, 450 meters. Located in

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/195 cont./ the Mertoutek wadi, to the east of the Tefedest, 260 kilometers from Tamanrasset. A few fruit trees. Important rock-drawing sites (Coche-Chasseloup-Laubat, Lelubre and M. Cousin sites).

In-Amertek

Abandoned center downstream from Mertoutek.

Ohet

Abandoned center to the northwest of the Tefedest. Two dead foggara. Land belonging to the Tédjéhé Mellet.

Adenek

Abandoned center in the Adenek wadi at the confluence of the Dehine wadi. Land belonging to the Kel Tefedest. There still remain a few fig trees and vines.

Abezzou

Abandoned center, land belonging to the Kel In-Rhar and Eouen n'Hada. Only a few zéribas and traces of guemoun are evidence of former cultivation.

Dehine

Center located six kilometers north of Mertoutek. Abandoned. There remain a few palms and fig trees as reminders of a former prosperity.

Other agricultural centers

Silet (altitude: 775 meters)

Located 151 kilometers from Tamanrasset on the road to Tin-Zaouaten. The Silet wadi forms a large basin which receives the waters of the Tahelra. There is a very shallow water table, which makes it possible for palms to grow without irrigation. There are about 6, 000 palms which receive practically /196/ no care. Artificial fecundation is rarely practiced. This palm grove was created about 200 years ago by Arabs from the Tidikelt. The owners of the palms are some Kel Rela, Iklan Taoussit, and Dag Rali. An attempt to establish a palm grove has been made by the Annex with djebars of Téguezza.

103 /196 cont./ Some ten residents live at Silet and cultivate
361 small gardens irrigated by three foggara. A bordj. Ruins of
621 an old Arab fort. Numerous pre-Islamic tombs.

Tibeghim

Five kilometers from Silet. Small palm grove in a semi-wild state, which gives it a very picturesque appearance. The palms belong to the Kel Rela and the Iklan Taoussit.

A'ltoklane

Center located in the Sersouf wadi 40 kilometers south of Tazerouk. Long abandoned, now cultivated. Far from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. The cultivable area is great.

Tin-Tarabin

In the Tin-Tarabin wadi, away from the automobile roads, this center is rarely visited. Abandoned, then revived a short time ago. This center could prosper, for the cultivable area is large.

Tadjmout

Located on the road from Tamanrasset to In-Salah in the intra-tassili depression of the Mouydir tassili. A few gardens belonging to the Kel Immidir. Palm trees (about 100 grow freely in the gorge one kilometer from the road).

Izghan -- Izeghaf -- Djoraf

Abaondoned centers in the interior of the tassili massif. Numerous palms belonging to the Kel Immidir and the Kel Ahnet. These sites are never visited and remain unknown to all.

Tin-Teredjine

Upstream in the Teredjine wadi (In-Guezzam road). Tiggert, abundant water, abandoned garden. Tomatoes /197/ grow without being cared for. An Adjouh n'Téhélé family gathers them from time to time.

Inroudiden

In the Tahelra massif (south of Tiffert), in the Inozzorou wadi, a tributary of the Tinef. Owners: Iklan Taoussit. Unimportant.

Isernan and Sédéouen

During rainy years, gardens are established upstream from the tiggert in these two wadis, tributaries of the In-Dalag wadi.

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Should a man descend from a father and a mother of different tribes he will start his life as a member of the father's tribe and end as a member of the mother's tribe. However, a man who descends from such a mixed marriage will, even as a member of his father's tribe, have an intimate connection with the tribe of his mother. Thus it is said that if, in the past, a man of a mixed marriage between two tribes lived in his father's tribe and had to pay blood-wealth for a murder, his mother's tribe should pay half of the blood-wealth, while in case his father had died and he lived in his mother's tribe his father's tribe should not contribute.

Tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and though we cannot characterize a tribe as a pure matrilineal unit the matrilineal principle plays a great part in tribal organization. It is valid for succession to tribal chieftainship, for succession to land-rights and to property considered indivisible; in noble tribes it is also valid for succession to rights and obligations towards vassals, in vassal tribes for rights and obligations towards noble Tuareg. These rules have been strictly followed by most Tuareg tribes of Ahaggar up to modern times. Within all tribes there seems to be one particular matrilineage from which the tribal chief should be elected. Thus in the vassal tribe of *Dag Rali* the chief must be elected from the *Dag Rali* proper, while a man descending from the ancestress of the tribal half known as *Imessiliten* cannot become elected chief. In the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe the supreme chief of the three sub-tribes should be elected according to matrilineal rules within the *Kel Tayhawhawt* sub-tribe.

Tribes are territorial units. The dominant noble tribes have as their territory the very large area which is divided into territories of vassal tribes within their drum-group. Several vassal tribes are named after the territory where they live, and the vassal tribes which have ancestral names are also attached to a particular territory. The Tuareg frequently speak of "*amaḍal n Dag Rali*", "*amaḍal n Aguh-en-tehlé*", etc., that is "the land of the *Dag Rali* tribe", "the land of the *Aguh-en-tehlé* tribe", etc., though they do not claim that these tribes own the particular territories but merely that they have particular rights to them. For the land of these tribes is owned by their drum-chief, the *Amenukal* of Ahaggar. It is stated in literature that such tribal territories are grazing grounds reserved exclusively for members of tribes. Lhote says that nobody has the rights to graze flocks and herds in the territories of foreign tribes without permission from their chiefs or from the *Amenukal* (Lhote 1955a, p. 279). Kilian also mentions that tribal territories are grazing grounds (Kilian 1925, p. 132), and in a study by Malaurie there is a sketch-map of some of the more important territories (Malaurie 1953, p. 339). Nowadays foreign camps are very frequently found in the territory of a tribe as mentioned by Capot-Rey (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265 f.), and it is said that this could also happen in the past. The territory of a tribe was possibly once reserved as grazing grounds for its members, but it is said that one of the *Imenukalen* (sing. *Amenukal*) in the past decided that grazing should be free all over the country as the division of the country into tribal grazing grounds gave rise to much inter-tribal trouble.

A tribe is always subdivided into sections which with few exceptions have geographical names – generally the names of important river valleys in the usual camping area. The number of such sections within a tribe varies. In the numerous vassal tribe *Aguh-en-tehlé* there are eight sections while the *Dag Rali* tribe has four sections. These sections are kin groups with a depth of 4-6 generations, and within a section there is always a dominant matrilineage from which the section leader, who is

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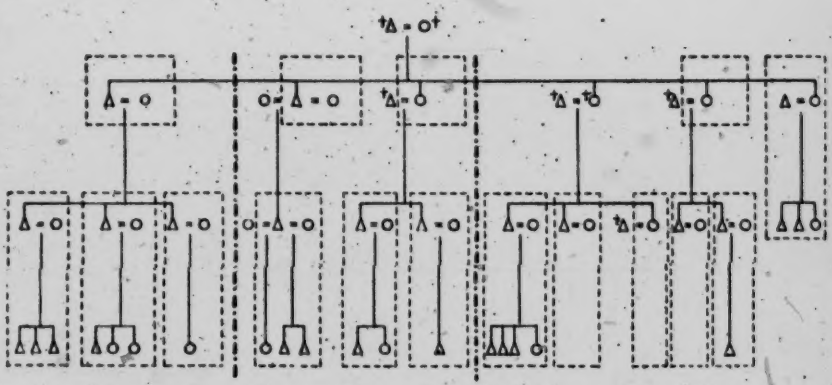

Fig. 103. The section camp of the *Kel Ajjernen* (the *Isandan* sub-tribe of the *Ajjeh-en-tehli*). The camp comprises three goat-herding units of four, five, and seven tents forming three independent camps in case of dry pasture. When grazing is good the three goat-herding camps which co-operate in camel-herding and caravan trading will camp on the same spot with a small distance between each in order that the flocks of the three units shall not mix. The household to the extreme right does not follow the general rule of residence illustrated Fig. 103. Its members accordingly should camp together with the husband's family, which, however, lives in Ayr whence he has emigrated to Ahaggar.

also the representative of the section towards the tribal chief, should preferably be elected. The members of one section will frequently intermarry with members of another particular section, but members of a section will generally marry into more than one particular section and sometimes into sections of foreign tribes.

When grazing is good the sections are identical with camps of 10–20 tents, which otherwise are split up into minor camps of 2–7 tents. These minor camps generally consist of an extended family which co-operates in goat-herding and in various other tasks, although all animals are individually owned and every tent or household is self-supporting – "it has its own churning bag and its own millet bag", as the Tuareg put it. The section camps formed during good grazing are made up of three or four small goat-herding camps which constitute extended families, but the small camps within the section camps remain co-operative in goat-breeding, and there is generally a distance of 50–100 metres between each in order that their flocks shall not mix. When the small goat-herding camps of a section join each other and form bigger camps under favourable grazing conditions, it is not only because kinsmen appreciate each other's company, but also because the big camp of a section is a co-operative unit in camel-breeding and caravan trading, for which tasks a goat-herding camp cannot spare the labour. Should the small goat-herding camps of a section be unable to remain together, they camp so close to each other that contact between them is comparatively easy. A section camp is illustrated in the diagram below (Fig. 103). The formation of such camps is not generally possible without annual pasture, and section camps are particularly common in the *Dag Rali* tribe resident mainly in the

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Fig. 106. A small goat-herding camp of three related households. The inmates have not erected their skin tents, but have their luggage and their household utensils hanging upon posts (left). In the hot daytime the people live in the shade of the rock (right). Ahaggar (the *Atakor* zone), the *Dag Rali* tribe (the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section).

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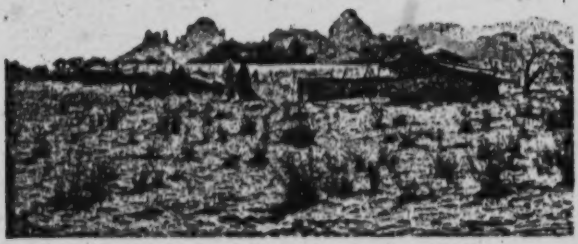

Fig. 107. A camp of four skin tents. Tasili-n-Ajjer, the *Uraren* tribe.

361 *Atakor* zone. In this area kin groups of five or six generations, comprising about twenty tents, may
621 form a section camp for long periods. Thus I was told that all members of the *Kel Tamanṛaset* section
*233 camped together in the same place for eight months of the year 1952. Among the Tuareg, who have their grazing grounds mainly in the *Aboda* country, section camps are not so easily formed as annual pasture springs up less frequently. People of such tribes as the *Iklan-en-tawsit*, the *Tégehé-n-Efis*, and part of the *Agub-en-tehlé* tribe, generally live in goat-camps, which are often smaller than those of the
824 *Dag Rali* tribe of the *Atakor* region. Where goats feed mainly on acacias it is not possible to keep such large flocks together as when grazing consists of fresh or dry annual plants. Acacia leaves are very important for fodder and their fruit-pods are still more valuable, but the trees grow scattered and consequently fodder is not so concentrated. We see again how stock-breeding among the Ahaggar Tuareg is an industry adapted to environment. The size of camps is determined by natural conditions.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



outlined above from Ahaggar, with the exception that the Ayr Tuareg have never practised the one year's stay in the bride's family camp after marriage. To-day the *Kel Ferwan* tribes of Southern Ayr do not follow very strictly any particular rule of residence. There is a strong tendency to patrilocal residence, but a man will usually continue to live with kinsmen of the camp where he was brought up as a child. If a man has grown up with maternal relatives owing to the loss of his father as a boy, or because his mother and father have divorced, he may remain with matrilineal relatives. I believe that all tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group of Southern Ayr are bilateral kin groups. And if in the past these Tuareg practised the rules of residence outlined above from Ahaggar, the tribes have been bilateral units as there have always been many marriages contracted between people of different tribes. Two tribes of Ayr, namely the *Imezzureg* and the *Kel Akerra*, claim that they have intermarried regularly from very ancient times, because the father of the *Kel Akerra* tribe was the brother of the mother of the *Imezzureg* tribe, while the father of the *Imezzureg* was a cross-cousin of *Kel Akerra*'s mother. These two tribes possess their individual chiefs, but have always been very mixed. It seems as if chiefs were elected according to matrilineal rules in the past, but to-day it is claimed that a son of a deceased chief should be the first in line of succession (cf. p. 456 ff.).

In Southern Ayr camps of all possible tribes to-day live among each other. There are no grazing grounds or particular territories nowadays when everybody is free to go where he likes with flocks and herds. No Tuareg have particular rights over land, and ban on grazing within certain areas, as in Ahaggar, is unknown. This is said also to have been the case in the past. But in the times preceding the French occupation of Ayr, all vassal tribes had their particular territories which, according to Capot-Rey, were formerly marked by walls (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 265). I have not been able to confirm this, but the Tuareg told me that in the past tribal territories had frontiers marked out by river valleys or by natural objects such as large trees. The vassal tribes did not own these territories, which were allotted them by the drum-chief of the noble *Kel Ferwan* tribe, the *Irawatten*. The traditional territories or grazing grounds of most *Kel Ferwan* tribes are indicated in the list on p. 423 ff.

At present there seem to be no sectional division of the *Kel Ferwan* tribes corresponding to the division into sections in Ahaggar. The *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg generally live in small camps comprising a few tents. These camps, which co-operate in stock-herding, do not generally exceed four or five tents inhabited by kinsmen who generally constitute an extended family, e.g., (1) husband, wife, married sons, and their children; (2) two brothers, their wives, married sons, and their children; (3) a brother and a sister together with their spouses and children; (4) husband, wife, unmarried children, husband's mother and mother's sister, and his sister's daughter with her husband. These small camps, as may be seen, are not based upon any particular rule of residence in agreement with what has been said of residence rules above. The households of a little camp of this kind will remain constantly together to co-operate not only in goat-herding, but generally in camel-breeding also. The labour for camel-herding and caravan trading is more easily provided for in Ayr than in Ahaggar. For camels are rarely taken to very distant grazing grounds, and caravan trading is often limited to expeditions to Damergu where the Tuareg fetch their millet. The Tuareg tribes of the *Kel Ferwan* group living around Agadez have no true co-operative units apart from the small camps of up to four or five tents. Such small camps of extended families may temporarily join each other in a bigger camp during the

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361 *akasa* period when there is green annual pasture, but the large camps have no co-operative functions
● 621 and no particular leader. The small camps join together to form big camps because their members are linked to each other by bonds of kinship, and consequently like to come together.

361 Most of the year the Ayr Tuareg live in very small camps around wells, and certain camps remain
221 on almost the same spot throughout the year. However, most camps move about in the *akasa* period, and later, at the end of the rains, many camps move southwards and westwards to the salt plains of Azawaɣ.

## DIVISION OF LABOUR IN STOCK-BREEDING

462 Before we consider other activities, we shall briefly describe the division of labour in stock-breeding according to sex.

462 In all Tuareg groups noble women do very little work. They engage in a few very esteemed crafts
565 such as embroidery, neat decoration of leather work, and in the north they cut ornamented milk-
[567] bowls from wood. The true domestic duties of a noble household are performed by slaves. This to some extent is also true of other social classes among the Northern Tuareg, while the Ayr Tuareg vassals have very few slaves nowadays. But even in vassal camps among the Northern Tuareg women have their duties and engage in all kinds of domestic work, also in stock-breeding. In the two groups
462 *233 of Northern Tuareg the division of work in stock-breeding can be seen when one enters a tent of a
342 vassal camp:—
[566] One half of the tent (the left part) is occupied by the woman and contains such implements as are connected with tanning, leather-work, cooking, butter- and cheese-making, and generally all implements connected with the breeding of goats, sheep, and donkeys. The other half of the tent (the right part), occupied by the husband, contains saddles and all other objects connected with camels. The tending of goats, sheep, and donkeys is the task of women, while camel-breeding is the business of men.

462 Before initiation Tuareg boys may be occupied with herding goats, sheep, and donkeys, but when
*233 they have adopted the veil they should preferably take care of camels only. There are, however, a
[857] few occasions where men engage in tasks connected with goats and donkeys:—

Goats like any other animal can be killed only by adult men, who also undertake the skinning and partition of the meat.

Castration of he-goats and rams may be done by men, but it is said that it is also performed by women.

When goats suffer from certain diseases they may in a few very special cases be taken care of by men. Thus when a goat has broken a leg and wooden splints are applied to the fracture this is generally performed by the husband of the household to which the animal belongs.

When goats and sheep are lost in the desert they may be searched for by men mounted on camels.

On the whole there are not many situations where the assistance of men is needed in tending goats and sheep, and most men have so little to do with goat-breeding that they do not know the exact meaning of many colour terms for goats.

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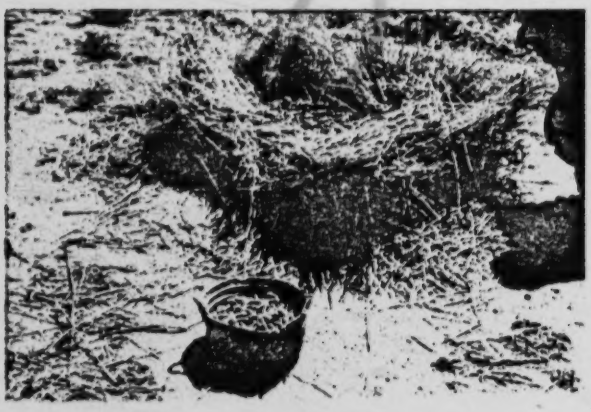

Fig. 142. Tomatoes (*tomatem*; *Solanum lycopersicum* and a type of melon (*tezenut*; *Cucurbita* sp.) cut into slices and laft upon a layer of straw for drying. A basket (*tézenit*) filled with ears of millet (*énéli*) is seen in the front. Ahaggar, *Ahl Azzi* Arabs.

563 173 [361] from Constantinople, and the true *Imeggedezen*, it is said, came from the same region. They were kinsmen of the Sultan who came to see their relative Sultan as guests or visitors and therefore acquired the name "*Imeggedezen*". They founded the city of Agadez, though it is said that sedentary people of the *Itésen* group of Tuareg were already living at this place. The city of Agadez seems to have been founded in the 15th century shortly after the foundation of the Sultanry which was established 1405 A.D. (cf. p. 414 f.). I shall return to the problems connected with the establishment of Agadez in a later chapter, and shall here content myself by saying that Agadez was established as a trading post, which also became the seat of government of Ayr, and the town never seems to have been a true agricultural settlement. There are no gardens, and even drinking water is very scarce and fetched by the women from outside of the city at wells and in river beds. The *Imeggedezen* are mainly city dwellers though there is a small population of agricultural *Imeggedezen* that possesses gardens at Alarses, a few kilometres north-east of Agadez.

361 621 [312] [563]

197 563 361 162 563 433 245 221 463 In Barth's days the main language of the sedentary Agadez population was *Sonray* (Barth 1857, I, p. 504). This is still spoken by a few people within the city, and it constitutes the traditional language of the people inhabiting the oasis of Ingal (1.430) west of Agadez. These Sonray-speaking people of Ingal, known to the Tuareg as *Isawegen*, subsist mainly upon their palms which yield dates of an excellent quality, and they do not otherwise engage much in agricultural activity. In the winter season some of these people settle in Tegidda-n-tésemt towards the north to work in the salt pits. Trade and crafts are also important industries to the sedentary people of Ingal, which owns a market.

361 342 162 162 144 433 [174] Throughout the Ayr Massif there are many agricultural villages in which the farmers live in straw-huts, and in houses built of stone and mud (cf. p. 327 ff., Figs. 246 ff.). Most people of these villages belong to the group of *Kel Ewey* Tuareg, but there are also some agriculturists who belong to other Tuareg groups, e.g., the *Itésen* (cf. p. 330, 412, 414, 417 f.). The *Kel Ewey* Tuareg originally came from the north as true fair-skinned Tuareg, but in Ayr they mixed with an ancient negroid and Hausa-speaking population that subsisted on agriculture.

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25



houses I saw at Djelfa in the Sahara Atlas. Further south in the true desert, and also in adjacent parts of the Sudan, mud houses have flat roofs. We see that mud houses are not limited to any particular environmental zone, and as a matter of fact they occur in the Sudanese zone even though they are not particularly well fitted for its climate. This fact has been emphasized by Capot-Rey who believes it an indication that mud houses have been imported from other regions (Capot-Rey 1953a, p. 231 f.).

There are two distinct types of mud houses in the Sahara. The common type is that built of sun-dried bricks. It is found in many oases and also in Sudanese towns and cities, including Agadez, where some houses are decorated with reliefs or paintings on the facades – a custom which to my knowledge is unknown further north in the desert. The other type of mud house is constructionally rather different from that built of sun-dried bricks. It is built of cones or balls of mud piled upon each other before they are dried in the sun. The distribution of such constructions is unknown. They are mentioned by Nicolas from Ingal and Tegidda-n-tésemt (Nicolas 1938, p. 67), and I have myself seen houses built in this way at these two towns. In Ayr there are very few mud houses built of sun-dried bricks except in Agadez, Ingal, and Tegidda-n-tésemt. In Ahaggar there are mud houses at Tamanrasset and at Abalessa, but these dwellings are not common at other cultivation centres where most people have other dwelling types.

A.2. *Houses built of stones and mud.*

Solid houses of this type occur in certain Ayr villages (e.g., Awderas). In some houses the rather heavy walls are built of mud into which the stones have been inserted, while the walls of other houses appear to be built of stones kept together by a thin layer of mud between them. In this latter case mud balls may substitute for stones, as mentioned by Rodd (Rodd 1926a, p. 238 ff.). The Ayr houses can be rectangular or square. Some houses have two or three rooms (cf. Fig. 246), but very few of the houses seem to be inhabited. The houses always have flat roofs in which wooden drain pipes are inserted. They do not generally have a closed courtyard at the front as have Arab mud houses.

Houses built of stones and mud are also found in certain villages of Ahaggar and Tasilé-n-Ajjer and are inhabited to-day by agriculturists. In Abalessa they are mixed with true mud houses, the settlement being divided into four quarters as follows:— (1) *Arakayna* which is inhabited by black-skinned agriculturists known as *Ikewweren* who are said to have immigrated from Tasilé-n-Ajjer. (2) *Bukhelfa* which is inhabited mainly by agriculturists whose ancestors were Tuareg slaves in Ahaggar. (3) *Éfeli-n-Dag Rali* mainly inhabited by agriculturists (*Harratin*) who have immigrated from Tidikelt. (4) *Tindar* which is inhabited exclusively by agriculturists of Tidikelt. The two first village quarters are situated close to each other and have houses built of stone and mud in contrast to the two last quarters which are inhabited by Arabic-speaking *Harratin* who live in true mud houses of the Arab type.

A.3. *Houses with dry walls.*

In Tasilé-n-Ajjer and in Ayr I have seen a few house ruins with walls of stones, but I was not able to judge whether the stones were originally kept together by thin layers of clay or similar material.